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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		
				-----7C5F03 191326Z /38			

P 191321Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4534
INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USDAO LILONGWE MI
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GM

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 06401

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, UG
SUBJECT: RPF REPS IN UGANDA DISCUSS ARUSHA TALKS

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. THE RPF REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE ARUSHA PEACE
PROCESS, BUT IS WARY OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND
CONCERNED ABOUT THE APPARENT DISAGREEMENTS AND
DISARRAY WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S
NEGOTIATING TEAM. ON THE KEY ISSUES TO BE RESOLVED
AT ARUSHA V, THE RPF WILL PRESS FOR: (A) A NOMINATED

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TRANSITIONAL LEGISLATIVE BODY; (B) A PRIOR AGREEMENT ON THE ALLOCATION OF CABINET POSITIONS; AND (C) PARITY IN A JOINT MILITARY HIGH COMMAND OF RPF AND RWANDAN FORCES. IN PURSUING ITS OBJECTIVES, THE RPF WILL BE FLEXIBLE AND OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS FROM THE U.S. AND OTHER NEUTRAL OBSERVERS. END SUMMARY.

3. RPF REPS DR. NDATINDA RUDASINGWA AND DR. EMMANUEL NDAHIRO CAME BY THE RESIDENCE ON NOVEMBER 13 AND BRIEFED ME ON THE STATUS OF THE RPF-GOR TALKS AND THE PROSPECTS FOR ARUSHA V. RUDASINGWA DID MOST OF THE TALKING.

4. RUDASINGWA DESCRIBED THE LAST ROUND AS GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, BOTH DELEGATIONS HAD AGREED TO SUBSTANTIALLY LIMIT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S POWER AND TO ESTABLISH SOME GUIDELINES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, "DISAGREEMENTS" AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE RWANDAN

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NEGOTIATING TEAM HAD FORESTALLED GREATER PROGRESS ON THE REMAINING ISSUES: THE METHOD OF SELECTING MEMBERS FOR THE TRANSITIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE ALLOCATION OF CABINET SEATS IN THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT IT WAS EVIDENT DURING THE LAST ROUND THAT DIFFERENCES EXISTED BETWEEN THE MRND AND ITS COALITION PARTNERS AND THAT FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRI DID NOT HAVE FULL AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE AND REACH BINDING AGREEMENTS WITH THE RPF. RUDASINGWA EXPRESSED SOME CONTINUED APPREHENSION ABOUT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S COMMITMENT TO THE ARUSHA POROCES AND RHETORICALLY ASKED WHETHER HABYARIMANA MIGHT REPUDIATE ASPECTS OF AN EVENTUAL ARUSHA AGREEMENT AS BOTH NEGOTIATING TEAMS MOVED CLOSER TO A FINAL PACKAGE. DESPITE THE RPF'S CONCERN ABOUT HABYARIMANA'S FEALTY TO THE ARUSHA PROCESS AND THE PERCEIVED FRENCH BIAS IN FAVOR OF THE RWANDAN PRESIDENT, RUDASINGWA SAID THE RPF WAS COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING THE CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATING AN ENDURING SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN PROBLEM.

5. AT THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS, RUDASINGWA SAID THE RPF DOES NOT PLAN TO ALTER ITS POSITION ON THE THREE REMAINING ISSUES:

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TRANSITIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

6. THE RPF WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR AN APPOINTED
TRANSITIONAL LEGISLATIVE BODY WITH ALL THE GOVERNMENT
COALITION PARTNERS AND THE RPF NOMINATING AN EQUAL
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NUMBER OF MEMBERS. PARITY WILL BE THE BASIS OF THE
RPF POSITION. THE RPF DOES NOT SUPPORT THE IDEA OF A
TWO-TIERED LEGISLATIVE BODY -- ONE REPRESENTING THE
EXTANT CND AND THE OTHER COMPRISING AN EQUAL NUMBER
OF LEGISLATORS NOMINATED BY ALL THE PARTIES. THIS
ARRANGEMENT WOULD GENERATE DISAGREEMENTS OVER THE
POWER AND PURPOSE OF EACH BODY. RUDASINGWA SAID THE
RPF IS PREPARED TO PUT AN EQUAL NUMBER OF NOMINATED
MEMBERS INTO THE EXISTING CND, BUT BELIEVES THIS
WOULD MAKE THE NEW BODY TOO LARGE AND UNYIELDY, AND
THUS COMPLETELY NULLIFY ITS UTILITY. THIS WOULD PLAY
INTO THE HANDS OF HABYARIMANA AND OTHERS WHO MIGHT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 06401

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WANT THE TRANSITION TO FALTER. RUDASINGWA REPEATED
THAT THE RPF DOES NOT SEEK DOMINATION IN THE
TRANSITIONAL LEGISLATURE, SIMPLY PARITY, AND THAT ALL
THE PARTIES IN THE GOVERNING COALITION EXCEPT THE
MRND AGREED WITH THIS POINT.

CABINET POSITIONS

7. RUDASINGWA EXPLAINED THAT THE RPF WOULD LIKE TO
ALLOCATE SPECIFIC CABINET POSITIONS TO EACH PARTY,
AND MAKE THE DISTRIBUTION A PART OF THE ARUSHA
PROTOCOLS. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THIS COULD HAVE BEEN
DONE VERY EASILY AT THE LAST SESSION, AND THAT THE
RPF WOULD HAVE BEEN SATISFIED WITH TAKING SEVERAL OF
THE MRND CABINET POSITIONS. INSTEAD, NGULINZIRA HAD
DEvised A COMPLICATED THREE TIER FORMULA FOR
ALLOCATING CABINET PORTFOLIOS. THE RPF, RUDASINGWA
SAID, WAS INTERESTED IN EITHER THE INTERIOR OR
DEFENSE PORTFOLIO, PLUS TRANSPORTATION, HEALTH AND
ONE OTHER PORTFOLIO. AGAIN, THE BASIS FOR THE RPF
POSITION WOULD BE PARITY WITH THE MRND -- NOT
DOMINATION. HOWEVER, THE MRND COULD NOT BE ALLOWED

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TO CONTROL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY OR A MAJORITY OF THE CABINET PLACES. RUDASINGWA IMPLIED THAT MOST OF THE MRND'S COALITION PARTNERS WERE CLOSER TO THE RPF'S POINT OF VIEW ON THIS ISSUE THAN TO THE ONE ESPOUSED BY NGULINZIRA.

INTEGRATION OF THE MILITARY

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8. RUDASINGWA EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE TWO SIDES WOULD AT LAST BEGIN TO GRAPPLE IN EARNEST WITH THE INTEGRATION OF THE MILITARY. HE SAID THE RPF WOULD LISTEN CLOSELY TO WHAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFERED. THE RPF WOULD INSIST ON PARITY AND FULL INTEGRATION OF THE UPPER LEVELS IN A UNIFIED HIGH COMMAND. THE RPF WOULD ALSO WANT TO BE CERTAIN THAT ITS FORCES WERE NOT EMASCULATED OR NEUTRALIZED, LEAVING THE RPF VULNERABLE TO HABYARIMANA'S ARMY. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THESE TWO POINTS, THE RPF WOULD LISTEN, TALK AND NEGOTIATE.

COMMENT

9. AS AT OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS, RUDASINGWA WAS ARTICULATE, CONFIDENT AND WELL INFORMED. HE PRESENTED HIS VIEWS LOGICALLY AND WITHOUT BLUSTER. HE ASSURED ME THAT THE RPF:

-- WILL MAINTAIN THE CEASEFIRE;

-- WILL NEGOTIATE EARNESTLY AND BE FLEXIBLE IN ITS APPROACH; AND

-- WILL NOT WALK AWAY FROM THE CONFERENCE TABLE BEFORE EVERY AVENUE TO ACHIEVING PEACE HAS BEEN EXHAUSTED.

10. RUDASINGWA CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT THE TALKS
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COULD DRAG ON BECAUSE OF THE DISARRAY AMONG THE
RWANDAN POLITICAL PARTIES, HABYARIMANA'S PERCEIVED
PERFIDY AND MANIPULATION OF THE INTERNAL PARTIES, AND
ALLEGED FRENCH "BIAS AND SUPPORT" FOR HABYARIMANA.
RUDASINGWA SAID HE WAS DEPARTING FOR RPF CONTROLLED
TERRITORY IN RWANDA, BUT WOULD STAY IN CONTACT WITH
US. HE ALSO REAFFIRMED THE RPF'S DESIRE TO LISTEN TO
ANY IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS WE HAD ON RESOLVING ANY OF
THE REMAINING POLITICAL AND MILITARY ISSUES. END
COMMENT.

CARSON

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